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| | INR-00 | IO-16 | L-01 | ADS-00 | NSAE-00 | OIC-02 | PA-01 |
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FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0240
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 003677

USUN FOR AMB. ALBRIGHT
GENEVA FOR AMB. SPIEGEL
NSC FOR DON STEINBERG

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, RW, TZ, OAU, BY, UG
SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK MEETING WITH RPF
SECRETARY GENERAL RUDASINGWA

REF: KAMPALA 3639

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. ON THE MORNING OF SATURDAY, MAY 7,
A/S JOHN SHATTUCK, AMBASSADOR DAVID RAWSON AND

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AMBASSADOR JOHNNIE CARSON MET WITH RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) SECRETARY GENERAL RUDASINGWA. THE DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON THE MODALITIES OF A POSSIBLE CEASE-FIRE AND ISSUES SURROUNDING THE FINDING OF APPROPRIATE INTERLOCUTORS TO REPRESENT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RWANDAN ARMY. THE GROUP ALSO DISCUSSED THE MAKEUP OF AN INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN MISSION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. END SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION

3. A/S JOHN SHATTUCK, AMBASSADOR DAVID RAWSON AND AMBASSADOR JOHNNIE CARSON MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RPF ON THE MORNING OF SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1994. RPF SECRETARY GENERAL DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA AND DR. E. RWANASIRABO REPRESENTED THE RPF. ECONOFF BERG ATTENDED AS NOTETAKER.

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4. A/S SHATTUCK DISCUSSED HIS MEETING OF MAY 6 WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI (REF A) AND SPELLED OUT THREE MAIN U.S. GOALS: SETTING UP AN INQUIRY INTO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, ESTABLISHING AN INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN FORCE AND ACHIEVING AN EFFECTIVE CEASE-FIRE ON THE GROUND.

5. RPF REPRESENTATIVE RUDASINGWA DESCRIBED THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AS MORE CRITICAL NOW THAN EVER BEFORE. HE SAID HE KNEW THAT THE OLD REGIME WAS BAD, BUT HE NEVER IMAGINED THEY COULD DO WHAT THEY HAVE DONE. RUDASINGWA EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH U.S. CONCERNS, AND SAID THAT THE RPF WAS PLEASED THAT THE U.S. SAW THE VALUE OF ARRANGING A CEASE-FIRE AT FIELD COMMANDER LEVEL RATHER THAN THE SIGNING OF AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD NEVER BE OBSERVED. HE ALSO DISCUSSED RPF CONCERNS THAT WORKING WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA WOULD CONSTITUTE RECOGNITION OF THAT GROUP.

MODALITIES OF A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT

6. THE A/S STRESSED THAT A MAIN GOAL OF THE U.S. IS

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TO ESTABLISH AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE ON THE GROUND. THE U.S. IS INTERESTED IN THE IDEA OF ARRANGING THE CEASE-FIRE THROUGH AN AGREEMENT AT THE THE FIELD COMMANDER LEVEL THROUGH GENERAL DALLAIRE. A/S SHATTUCK STRONGLY URGED RUDASINGWA TO ENTER INTO SUCH AN AGREEMENT. ONCE A CEASE-FIRE IS ESTABLISHED, HE SAID, AN INQUIRY COULD BE INITIATED.

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7. RUDASINGWA NOTED THAT SEVERAL UNILATERAL CEASE-FIRES HAVE BEEN SIGNED BUT NONE HAVE HELD. THE RPF WENT TO ARUSHA TO GIVE PEACE A CHANCE, RUDASINGWA SAID, AND THEY WENT COMMITTED TO SETTING UP MODALITIES FOR A CEASE-FIRE. HE FEELS, HOWEVER, THAT THE FACILITATOR AND WESTERN AMBASSADORS ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH FINDING AN AGREEMENT THAT CAN BE SIGNED BY GOR AND THE RPF OVER AND ABOVE SETTING UP A CEASE-FIRE THAT WILL BE EFFECTIVE. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT, FOR THE RPF, AN AGREEMENT ESTABLISHED BY THE COMMANDERS ON THE FIELD IS AN IMPORTANT CONCEPT AND THE BEST POSSIBILITY FOR A CEASE-FIRE THAT WILL HOLD, BUT A COMMANDER LEVEL AGREEMENT IS NOT THE FOCUS OF THE FACILITATOR -- THUS THERE WAS NO COMMITMENT TO A CEASE-FIRE IN ARUSHA. THE RPF IS PLEASED THAT THE U.S. IS SUPPORTING A COMMANDER LEVEL AGREEMENT.

8. IN RESPONSE TO A/S SHATTUCK'S QUESTION REGARDING THE AMOUNT OF TIME NEEDED TO BEGIN TALKS BETWEEN COMMANDERS IN THE FIELD, RUDASINGWA EXPLAINED THAT IT WOULD TAKE AT LEAST THREE DAYS FOR GENERAL DALLAIRE

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SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK MEETING WITH RPF

SECRETARY GENERAL RUDASINGWA

TO ARRANGE MEETINGS BECAUSE OF THE PHYSICAL
DIFFICULTIES INVOL

VED IN SETTING THEM UP IN RWANDA.

RUDASINGWA IS PREPARED TO TELL HIS FIELD COMMANDERS
TO MEET WITH GENERAL DALLAIRE, AND SAID KIGALI WOULD
BE THE BEST PLACE FOR A MEETING BECAUSE IT IS THE
EASIEST PLACE FOR BOTH SIDES TO GET TO IN A SHORT

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TIME. THE A/S PROMISED TO TRY TO REACH GENERAL DALLAIRE TO ENCOURAGE HIM TO PROCEED TO SET UP MEETINGS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

ISSUES SURROUNDING THE FAILED ARUSHA MEETING

9. AMBASSADOR RAWSON ASKED RUDASINGWA WHETHER THE PROBLEM AT ARUSHA ON MAY 3-4 WAS WITH THE DOCUMENT ITSELF OR WAS WITH WORKING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE IDEAS IN THE ARUSHA DOCUMENT WERE FROM THE RPF -- THEY HAD DRAFTED THE DOCUMENT WITH SALIM SALIM, AND PROPOSED THE IDEAS OF OAU MONITORS AND A COMMANDER LEVEL CEASE-FIRE. THE RPF HAD NO PROBLEM WITH SIGNING THE AGREEMENT, BUT THEY HAVE A MAJOR PROBLEM WITH THE IMPLICATIONS OF SIGNING A DOCUMENT SIMILAR TO THE ONE SIGNED BY AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH ONLY FRANCE RECOGNIZES. THEY FEARED SUCH AN ACT WOULD

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HAVE IMPLICITLY RECOGNIZED THE IGOR.

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10. RUDASINGWA SAID THE RPF WAS PLEASED THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE IGOR, AND THAT WE HAD DEMONSTRATED NONRECOGNITION BY REFUSING A VISA TO THE IGOR. AMBASSADOR RAWSON AND A/S SHATTUCK STRESSED THAT THE U.S. RECOGNIZES STATES, NOT GOVERNMENTS AND THAT THE REFUSAL OF THE VISA WAS NOT INTENDED TO SIGNAL RECOGNITION OR NONRECOGNITION.

11. RUDASINGWA EMPHASIZED THAT THE RPF IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO THE PEOPLE WHO CLAIM TO BE THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. HE BELIEVES THAT THE ARMY IS EQUALLY CRIMINAL BUT, HE EXPLAINED, THE ARMY HAS POWER; IT IS THE ONLY EXISTING CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTION; AND IT IS THE FORCE THE RPF IS FIGHTING, SO THE RPF PREFERS TO DEAL WITH THE ARMY RATHER THAN THE DECLARED GOVERNMENT.

MAKEUP OF AN INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN MISSION

12. THE RPF, RUDASINGWA SAID, IS NOT OPPOSED TO INTERNATIONAL MISSION AS SUCH BUT IS OPPOSED TO CHARACTER OF THE FORCE AS NOW PLANNED. ANY SUCH

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MISSION MUST HAVE A HUMANITARIAN PURPOSE. THE RPF HAD CRITICIZED UNAMIR IN THE PAST FOR WEAKNESSES THAT BECAME EVIDENT DURING THIS CRISIS, RUDASINGWA SAID. WHEN UNAMIR WAS MOST NEEDED TO PROTECT RWANDANS, FOR EXAMPLE, IT WAS CUT TO A MINIMUM OPERATING GROUP OF ONLY 270. HOW CAN RWANDA BELIEVE WHAT THE UN SAYS

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WHEN IT ABANDONED RWANDA AT THE TIME OF GREATEST NEED?

13. RUDASINGWA ARGUED THAT ANY INTERNATIONAL MISSION IN RWANDA MUST BE A NEUTRAL FORCE WHOSE PRIMARY FUNCTION WOULD BE TO MONITOR THE CEASE-FIRE. THE SECOND MAIN FUNCTION MUST BE HUMANITARIAN -- TO INSURE FOOD CAN BE TRANSPORTED TO THOSE WHO NEED IT AND PEOPLE CAN BE EVACUATED TO SAVE THEM FROM BEING BUTCHERED IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS. RUDASINGWA SAID THE TYPE OF FORCE PROPOSED BY UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS GHALI WAS NOT APPROPRIATE. ACCORDING TO RUDASINGWA, BOUTROS GHALI PROPOSES A FORCE INTERPOSED BETWEEN HUTUS AND TUTSIS; HOW, RUDASINGWA ASKED, CAN A FORCE BE INTERPOSED BETWEEN TWO GROUPS WHO HAVE NO NATURAL LINE BETWEEN THEM?

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14. THE U.S., THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAID, HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT AN INTERVENTION FORCE WITH A POLITICAL OR TRADITIONAL PEACE KEEPING ROLE. RATHER, THE U.S. SUPPORTS A HUMANITARIAN MISSION WHICH COULD GUARANTEE THAT ASSISTANCE CAN GET THROUGH TO THOSE WHO NEED IT AND WHICH COULD PROTECT THOSE WHO ARE

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DISPLACED AND FLEEING FROM REPRISALS.

NEED TO INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

15. REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSION TO
INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN RWANDA, THE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT HE HAS BEEN IN

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TOUCH WITH THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
AND WOULD MEET WITH THE HIGH COMMISSIONER IN GENEVA
ON MAY 8. THE PRESENCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMISSIONER AND THE INTEREST IN CALLING A SPECIAL
SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION DEMONSTRATE
INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE
PROBLEMS IN RWANDA.

16. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE RPF APPRECIATES THE
U.S. POSITION AND SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL
COMMISSION, AND THAT RPF REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK
HAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO FIND AN ORGANIZATION THAT CAN
QUICKLY ARRANGE AN INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY. HE
CHARACTERIZED AN INQUIRY AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR
NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND UNITY, AND SAID THAT THE
PEOPLE OF RWANDA AND THE WORLD WILL NEVER FORGIVE OR
FORGET IF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING IN RWANDA
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17. A/S SHATTUCK DEPARTED POST BEFORE THIS CABLE WAS
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